

Annual Report 2007

ECREA communication and democracy section

The ECREA communication and democracy section has been active for over two years now. In the last year (2007) the section took the initiative to organise a two-day colloquium in Brussels. In view of establishing links with other sections we invited other sections to join this initiative, to which 3 other ECREA sections responded positively: the Gender and Communication section, Journalism Studies section and the Political Communication section. This resulted in the following call for papers:

Call For Papers:

Equal Opportunities and Communication Rights:
Representation, Participation & the European Democratic Deficit

In the spring of 2007 the European Union is celebrating its 50th birthday! In addition, on the 1st January 2007 two new member states from Eastern Europe joined the Union, thereby extending the EU to a total of 27 member states and nearly 500 million inhabitants. 2007 is also the European Year for Equal Opportunities for All, with a focus on equality, diversity and '*a just society*' (see <http://equality2007.europa.eu/>). While the EU advances as a comprehensive decision-maker and power broker, by all accounts it continues to remain a 'remote', complex and non-transparent political entity. Although the EU is seemingly proceeding with its integration project, at the same time the ways and the methods through which this is happening are either incomprehensible or disputable or both. Indeed, to its own citizens, the EU risks becoming an 'empty signifier'.

This Symposium aims to assess the roles of media and communication in fostering equal opportunities, civic participation and diversity in Europe, as well as its potentials for addressing the European democratic deficit, particularly the perceived disconnection between the economic and political elites and large parts of EU citizens. In this Symposium we aim to critically discuss and interrogate the role of media and communication relating to issues of equality, diversity, civic participation and democracy beyond the nation state, on the basis of theoretical and/or empirical research. Media and communication can be seen to fulfil different roles in this regard; as a medium (information provision), as a mediator (deliberative processes, activism), as a political actor (the media and media-professionals), as a citizenship right (communication rights), as a tool for or indicator of enhancing equal opportunities, but also as a battlefield for meaning on what it entails to be a European citizen or what Europe means.

To this effect, the ECREA-sections Communication and Democracy, Journalism, Political Communication, and Gender and Communication, as well as the European Journalism Centre (EJC) and Vesalius College invite researchers who address one or more of the following key-themes and subsequent issues to attend and contribute to the Symposium, either by proposing a paper to be presented or as audience and discussants.

Key-Themes:	Issues:
The EU Democratic Deficit:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The roles of media and communication in bridging the gap between the EU institutional framework and the citizen/civil society • Critical perspectives on e-democracy as 'the' answer to getting citizens involved • The commodification of the media sector and its impact on political communication and the European democratic deficit • The influence of the media lobby in the EU's communication policy and the challenge for citizens to participate in influencing/shaping media policy • Equal opportunities to participate and the democratic divide • Applying communication rights in the horizontal interactive dimension and building up young and alternative European communities
European Public Spheres:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media and the construction of a European identity versus nationalistic passions and emotions in (national) politics • The role of opinion polls (Eurobarometer) and European Public Spheres as representations of European public opinions • European public spheres and their intersection with traditionally feminised private spheres • An independent non-commercial (community) third voice, next to public and commercial media and its links to communication rights in the EU • Tensions between European and national (media) policies (subsidiarity) • The problem of media out-put inequality and the prevalence of dominant media players in the EU
Journalism and the EU:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operationalising Trans-European Journalistic Practices • EU-correspondents as being in-between the national and the European • Representations of women, minorities, marginalised groups and the way these representations intersect • Contributions of gendered media analysis or gendered journalism to the construction of representation in the European public sphere • Challenges arising from the transformations of journalism through interactive platforms (cf. Blogging, Citizens Journalism) • The relationship between journalism and lobbying in the EU. Journalism Versus <i>Strategic</i> Communication and Public Relations

The colloquium was subsequently held in Residence Palace (Brussels) on 11-12 October 2007 and was also kindly supported by the European Journalism Centre (EJC) and Vesalius College (VUB). This allowed us to keep the event free for ECREA members (and recruit new members for ECREA at the same time, both individual and institutional). 37 papers were presented to an audience of approximately 80 participants from 18 countries both within Europe and beyond (Austria, Belgium, Finland, Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and US).

The Symposium was opened with a keynote panel combining a scholarly vision with a more practical one, offered by a Member of the European

Parliament (Ruth Hieronymi). The chair of the ComDemo section chaired the opening plenary and one of the vice-chairs also contributed to the opening session. Furthermore, the section animated 3 sessions of the colloquium with in total 11 papers being presented:

National and European Public Spheres

Chair: Iñaki Garcia-Blanco
Respondent: Hannu Nieminen

LUCHT, Jens

European Public Sphere and Identity. Semantics of difference in the public communication in Europe.

KOSTOV, Zoran

Extending the public sphere vs. colonization of the cyberspace

MELISCHEK, Gabriele & SEETHALER, Josef

Building Europe? The Media's Role in the "Europeanization" of National Public Spheres

DONDERS, Karen & PAUWELS Caroline

'Public Service Broadcasting is a Battlefield'. The Dynamics between European Commission, Member States and Broadcasters concerning PSB

WIMMER, Jeffrey

Revitalization of the European public sphere? A metaanalysis of the empirical research about counterpublicspheres and media activism

Media Pluralism and Democracy

Chair: Claudia Padovani
Respondent: Julia Hoffmann

NESTI, Giorgia

Policy networks and mobilization networks in the European Union: the case of media pluralism

KLIMKIEWICZ, Beata

Media Pluralism and Enlargement: Limits and Potential for Media Policy Change

GARCIA BLANCO, Iñaki

Fostering Conflict or Consensus? Normative Conceptions of Democracy in the Spanish Press

Citizens and Interest Groups in Europe

Chair: Bart Cammaerts

Respondent: Nico Carpentier

PAUS-HASEBRINK, Ingrid & ORTNER, Christina

Socially Disadvantaged Groups and their Attitudes towards Europe – A conceptual approach

OITTINEN, Riitta

Eurosigns, grassroots Designers, and the Politics of Representation in the Capital of Europe

SCHAEFERS, Stefan

European Citizens Consultations

The section would also like to explicitly thank its member Iñaki Garcia-Blanco for his extensive efforts in relation to the organisation of the colloquium.

Finally, plans are being made, together with the gender and communication section, to publish a selection of papers from the colloquium with Cambridge Scholars Publishing (<http://www.c-s-p.org>).

Bart Cammaerts

19/12/2007

Annex 1: programme of the colloquium

Annex 2: book of abstracts

Programme 11th October

09h00-09h30	Registration	
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How to get there

Résidence Palace - International Press Centre
Rue de la Loi 155 - Bloc C
1040 Brussels
Belgium

By public transport

Train: Schuman railway station is underneath the Résidence Palace and is the ideal place to alight for the International Press Centre. When you arrive in the station, just follow the arrows to the "Résidence/Residentie" and opt for the Rue de la Loi exit, which will lead you to the main entrance of the International Press Centre.

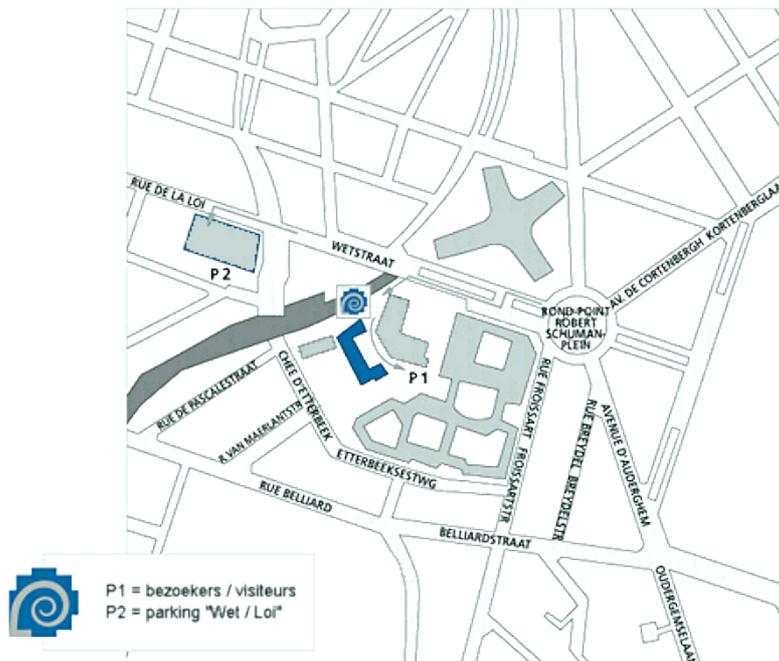
Metro: Schuman metro station (line 1) is underneath the Résidence Palace and is the ideal place to alight for the International Press Centre. When you arrive in the station, just follow the arrows to the "Résidence/Residentie" and opt for the Rue de la Loi exit, which will lead you to the main entrance of the International Press Centre.

By car

(Latitude & longitude : 50° 50' 33" & 4° 22' 50" or 50,8427 & 4,3808)

To calculate your vehicle route, you may pay a visit, for example, to the following site www.derouckgeomatics.com. Specify your point of departure and arrival to find out exactly what route to take.

When you arrive at Résidence Palace, the nearest car park is the "Loi parking" (P 2), whose entrance is located at chaussée d'Etterbeek 25, 1040 Brussels. It is open from Monday to Friday, 6.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. A few parking spaces are also available for your VIPs in front of the Résidence Palace (P 1).



Welcome

We are pleased to welcome you to the ECREA symposium on Equal Opportunities and Communication Rights. In the European Year for Equal Opportunities for all, Brussels is hosting a symposium on this important theme. This joint event is organised by ECREA's Gender and Communication section, Communication and Democracy section, Political Communication section, and the Journalism Studies section.

These two days 10 parallel sessions and more than 35 presentations will go into the roles of media and communication in fostering equal opportunities, civic participation and diversity in Europe as well as its potentials for addressing the European democratic deficit, particularly the perceived disconnection between the economic and political elites and large parts of EU citizens. Media and communication will be seen to fulfil different roles in this regard; as a medium (information provision), as a mediator (deliberative processes, activism), as a political actor (the media and media-professionals), as a citizenship right (communication rights), as a tool for or indicator of enhancing equal opportunities, but also as a battlefield for meaning on what it entails to be a European citizen or what Europe means. At the same time, the symposium will critically discuss and interrogate the role of media and communication relating to issues of equality, diversity, civic participation and democracy beyond the nation state, on the basis of theoretical and/or empirical research.

We are grateful to the European Journalism Centre and the Vesalius College (VUB) without their support this free ECREA-event would not be possible, and to Iñaki Garcia Blanco for his administrative help.

A conference is built on the participants, so we thank you all for coming and presenting and hope you will have an interesting and enjoyable two days.

Organising Committee

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National and European Public Spheres

Chair: Iñaki Garcia Blanco

Respondent: Hannu Nieminen

LUCHT, Jens

European Public Sphere and Identity. Semantics of difference in the public communication in Europe.

European citizens do not seem to approve of Europeanization, as is indicated by the rejection of the EU Constitution in France and the Netherlands in the referenda of 2005. Hence, Europe is said to lack democracy, a public sphere and an identity, while the EU accumulates more and more political power. In my presentation, I will argue that for the purpose of wider European integration a European shared belief in common traits (Max Weber) is crucial. But how and which conditions allow the emergence of a European identity?

From examining the genesis of modern nation-states, we know that the emergence of national public spheres, the formation of nationally shaped political domains and the constitution of national collective identities are closely intertwined and dependent on each other. The crucial question therefore is: can we find indications of a transnational public communication and, if so, how will this communication result in an identity which would implicate a "minimum" of a European shared belief?

Therefore, I will discuss results of a research project, initiated by the fög in cooperation with the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for European History and Public Spheres. The project combines social science research concerning public sphere and historiographical studies on European identity.

In the first place, we examine how much a national arena is concerned by an issue and in which way this threat is related to a common 'we'-entity. Thus, our first step was to produce a catalogue of values, based on the inductive assessment of the communication events and the current Fundamental Values of the EU as mentioned in the EU Charta. Behind this construction lies the understanding that public communication containing semantics of identity is inflamed by imagined or actual threats to these identity-forming values. Secondly, "the other" or even "the enemy" from which the threat generally emanates must be perceived. The ultimate decisive factor for our research is how 'we' and 'the other' are typified. The typifications relate to the aforementioned values catalogue in positive or negative values.

These considerations lead to a selection of key communication events, which can be compared synchronously and diachronically by means of the aforementioned indicators and the semantics of identity. Such a time-series analysis necessarily refers to both key communication events of European relevancy and to such events whose thematic structure is strongly characterised by semantics of difference. War communication events fulfil

these conditions, as the intensive moral character of war reporting leads to marked semantics of difference and thus to identificative references. The focus lies on the analysis of leading print media in each of six different media arenas: Switzerland, Germany, France, Great Britain, Austria and Hungary. Up to now, we have examined the following communication events: Hungarian Uprising 1956, Sputnik Shock 1957, Foundation of the EEC 1957, Building of the Berlin Wall 1961, Yom Kippur War 1973, Falklands War 1982, Gulf War III 2003 and the Crisis of Ratification of the European Constitutional Treaty 2005. The first results are staggering: The decline of the Cold War led to new designs of the construction of identity: The vacuum of the East-West-antagonism was filled by an emerging reference to Europe and more distance towards the USA and the Middle East on the one hand. On the other hand, however, we can observe a trend that we call "Europe Antagonism". Though references to Europe are increasing, national references, especially in Eastern Europe, are high in number, which means the former antagonism East-West is being replaced by transnational European references but, at the same time, there are tendencies of a growing re-nationalism.

KOSTOV, Zoran

Extending the public sphere vs. colonization of the cyberspace

During the last decade, many media researchers have pinpointed the possibility of the decentralized communication over Internet to play a key role in the transformation of another segment of real life - the political activism, citizen involvement and the whole spectrum of related processes. New understanding and perception of the traditional political categories have been introduced, from netizen as a citizen of the network, to digital and cyber democracy as an extension of the traditional agora in the cyber space.

The emergence of Internet, namely, has created new space for information, debate and participation, which at the first glance, offer potential for strengthening the democracy and broaden the scope of critical thinking. Thousands of differently configured conversations which are happening on the net are creating a mirage of expansion of the informal public debate in the cyberspace, which was, in the years before Internet, becoming weaker as a result of the trend of cultural forms in the modern society to be integrated by the subjects of depoliticized culture, that way overcoming the public sphere.

Nevertheless and beside the optimism that was associated with the new communication technology, range of questions appeared about the domains and the nature of the new civic participation. Among the other, the emergence of a specific

sort of information aristocracy has been identified as contributing towards undermining the meaning of the universal access as a fundamental equal opportunities paradigm promoted by Internet. It is stressed on one side, that the commodification and the commercialization of the information threaten to suspend the proclaimed autonomy of the cyberspace as a public sphere, while on the other, regardless of the trend the pyramidal nature of the public administration to change into archipelago of networked configurations, bureaucracy has not been prevented from transforming into cybercracy. Even more, the society is increasingly understood as an enormous machine, in which the instant public opinion enabled through computer mediated communications would open the space for sophisticated manipulation leading to a kind of "perfect" governance, which in turn will provide the eternal intangibility of economic and political elites.

This paper looks at these and several other conflicting tendencies while considering the cyberspace as public sphere's extension that is to deal with the European democratic deficit. It further analyses the critical points of cyber discourse, the fragmentation of the society, and other phenomena and challenges related to e-democracy and citizens involvement.

MELISCHEK, Gabriele & SEETHALER, Josef

Building Europe? The Media's Role in the "Europeanization" of National Public Spheres

A "state of nation-states" (as Juergen Habermas has called his vision of Europe) is faced with the challenge of having to create the necessary preconditions for its development such as a European civil society, a European public sphere, and a European political culture without being able to draw upon any inherent mechanisms handed down for just that purpose. Under these circumstances, what role is there for the media to play in this complicated European integration process?

In researching the media's role in an emerging European public sphere, two basic approaches can be distinguished: One approach asks whether new and genuinely supranational public communicative spaces are emerging in the European Union, parallel with the process of political and economic integration. The second approach focuses on the probability of some kind of "Europeanization" of the various national public spheres which remain and should remain intact, due to cultural and language barriers and also due to historically well-established national media systems.

Whereas the former approach deals with the interaction among European institutions and collective actors around European topics, thus primarily focusing on the role and performance of supranational mass media, most of the studies applying the latter perspective examine the convergence of news agendas in national media coverage of European or transnational issues across countries. We wish to propose an additional approach derived from the theoretical work of Juergen Habermas that tries to combine both perspectives, thus meeting the essential preconditions of civic participation beyond the nation state. This approach assumes a Europeanization of the national public spheres,

which exist in a communicative network (absorbing not only inputs of media and political actors, but also inputs of actors within the civil society of the various member states) and which are grounded on a common political culture, characterized by widely shared values and beliefs.

In our paper, we will present some methodological considerations in analyzing the media's role in this process, exemplified by an analysis of the 2004 U.S. election coverage in eight leading newspapers from four European countries (France, Germany, Italy, and UK). The 2004 U.S. presidential election was chosen because of the importance of a common European foreign policy and because of the unusually high degree of attention it had gained. It is widely assumed that the search for a collective voice in relation to global affairs, elucidating the distinctive values of the European Union, is one of the main forces of the European integration process. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the aforementioned public attention to the 2004 election (which is generally considered as an expression of the deep differences within the transatlantic alliance, emerging in the course of the last Iraq War) should coincide with a high degree of reciprocal co-orientation among the leading papers from different countries indicating their integration in the European communication system, and with the visibility of a commonly shared perspective indicating a transatlantic value gap.

The applied methodological framework combines inter-media agenda-setting and attribute agenda-setting as two models widely used in communication research and operationalizes them in terms of social psychology theories, namely in terms of sociometry and attribution theory. As inter-media agenda-setting aims at the frame of reference journalists take in their reporting, attribute agenda-setting deals with the perspectives of journalists, how they picture topics in the news. The attributes under study are concerned with the perceived success or failure of the political actors, as well as with causal explanations of the respective evaluations (referring to the underlining political values).

DONDERS, Karen & PAUWELS Caroline

'Public Service Broadcasting is a Battlefield'. The Dynamics between European Commission, Member States and Broadcasters concerning PSB

In June 2006 the European Commission (EC) requested the Belgian authorities to clarify the financing of the Flemish public service broadcaster (PSB) VRT. One year earlier, in March 2005, Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands were asked to do the same. Subsequently, in late June 2006, the Commission concluded that the Dutch PSB NOS had been overcompensated between 1994 and 2005. The NOS now has to reimburse 76.3 million euro to the Dutch government. Further investigations into the funding of NOS' new media activities are under way.

The recent more active stance of the EC with regard to PSB and state aid is perceived by some as a threat to PSB and the democratic, social and cultural needs of society it contributes to. For others it is the outcome of an economic reality in which PSBs and commercial undertakings operate

in an integrated European single market. Although the Commission emphasizes that PSBs are vital for European democratic societies, some might indeed interpret the recent decisions of the Commission as proof for its more liberal stance. We assume that both from an ideological and regulatory viewpoint state aid is indeed no longer taken for granted as an essential part of the media policy toolkit. Markets and competition have been found equally important or even more so. But next to the EC the European Member States (MS) are accountable for this evolution as well. Most West European governments for example continuously question PSBs and their financing in particular. However, this does not prevent MS to vigorously defend their PSBs when under fire by the Commission.

Two research questions underly this paper. We, firstly, question whether the overall impression of the Commission taking a more liberal stance with regard to state aid and PSB is an empirical one. Secondly, we inquire whether this liberal course can be attributed to the sole action of the Commission itself or that it is on the contrary the result of a complex give and take game between MS, Commission and Courts, in which all defend sometimes conflicting sometimes converging interests. Therefore the aim of this paper is to study the dynamic interactions between all the different actors involved.

We, firstly, address the room of manoeuvre for the different parties by analysing the relevant state aid rules and policy documents. The Amsterdam Protocol (1997) and the Broadcasting Communication (2001) deserve special attention because both documents indeed emphasize the competence of MS to define and organise a system of PSB, insofar as their support does not excessively affects the 'Community interest'.

Secondly, the implementation of existing rules is assessed. For this purpose we look at Commission decisions, Court rulings and informal negotiation procedures between the Commission and the MS. This analysis is not a legal analysis per se, but rather covers an examination of the various dynamics between the actors involved in the state aid control process. This is important because the Community's state aid control policy is foremost a political, rather than a legal, balancing act.

To conclude, we come back to our main research questions and try to nuance the existing view of EU public service broadcasting policy as the outcome of a dichotomic position between (protectionist) member states at the one hand and a (liberal) Commission and (liberal) Courts at the other.

WIMMER, Jeffrey

Revitalization of the European public sphere? A meta-analysis of the empirical research about counterpublic-spheres and media activism

The integration of Europe could gain a new momentum with the counter-public spheres which revive a paralysed public in many ways, mostly indirectly by building a media based form of collective identity throughout Europe. My contribution firstly reconstructs descriptive and normative opinions on counter-

public from a media-based perspective, and elaborates on the relationship between the public sphere, counter-public spheres, and new media. Then it discusses the potential of counter-public activities to revive the public sphere, particularly in the framework of the European Union. The results will be drawn from a meta-analysis of the empirical research so far.

Power and the Press: Mediating the Centre

Chair: Ramón Salaverría

ARSAN, Esra

Turk's ordeal with Europe: EU reporting from the eye of Brussels correspondents

Turkey has been a European Union associate member since 1964. It was officially recognized as a candidate for membership on 1999 at the Helsinki summit of the European Council. Turkey started negotiations on 2005, a process that is likely to take at least a decade to be completed. Its possible future accession is now central controversy of the ongoing enlargement of the EU. However, the transformation of Turkey and her stronger claims for membership on that basis will not necessarily generate a stable equilibrium in Turkey-EU relations. Indeed, the process whereby Turkey moves closer to the heart of Europe will contribute to the ongoing debate about Europe's own future involving her identity, her borders, the depth of integration and the degree of inward or outward orientation (Onis, 2004). At this point, reporting from Brussels -political journalism- has become a more important task in terms of informing Turkish citizens and shaping the public sphere about the EU. In this paper, I am going to analyze how Turkish journalists cover the EU events, and what are their professional role perceptions as political actors. Results of a short survey with a small group of Turkish journalists and interviews with Brussels reporters will be used as key findings of the paper.

LECHELER, Sophie

EU Membership and the Press: an Analysis of the Brussels Correspondents from the New Member States

In the light of the ongoing enlargement of the European Union, we need to reconsider what we know about the Brussels press corps. Brussels journalists play a pivotal role in the European integration process. They act as agents of Europeanization, wedged between complex European issues and national public spheres, privileged in terms of information supply, geographical proximity and social networking. This study is one of the first to examine correspondents from new member states vis-à-vis the rest of the Brussels press corps, EU institutions, home offices and audiences. In-depth, semi-structured interviews with 14 journalists from different new member states show that the current work situation of the new member states' correspondents in Brussels could impede the emergence of a Europe-wide public discourse. The growing heterogeneity of the Brussels press corps reduces the relative importance of journalists from smaller member states and leaves them at disadvantage in the news-gathering process. Moreover, volatile and also tense media markets in the new member states, paired with little interest for EU affairs in these countries constrain the journalists' news performance, leading them to stress national angles over European ones.

KAITATZI-WHITLOCK, Sophia & PANAGIOTAREA, Anna

Correspondents in Brussels: The Initial Vector in Covering European Political Affairs

Correspondents accredited at the institutions of the European Union (EU) at Brussels and Strasbourg constitute part of the primary interface between the supranational and the national levels in passing on and dissemination daily information about the EU public affairs that concern us all. They are the primary agents in the information-process-chain as they are located right where the sources of political production are and where decision-making takes place. They are the primary / originating source in the information-process-chain, but they are by no means the final nor the most decisive gatekeepers of political information, i.e., those pieces of information that are selected for eventual publication / projection in frameworks and media of political communication. This very peculiarity of the role of the correspondents reflects an inherent tension and puts them in a particularly pivotal role in the search for explanations as to why the observable deficit in political communication obtains, especially so, in national EU media.

Our empirical research – grounded on interviews on the basis of both a delivered questionnaire to ca 200 correspondents, as well as, on open interviews with a limited number of experienced practising correspondents at Brussels today – aims to explore the ways these practitioners operate daily, the constraints they face, the extent to which their end-products, that is, their reports reach end-receivers and their targeted audiences. It also aims to examine the whys and wherefores of this phenomenon.

More particularly we aim to investigate the instances, the conditions and the reasons for which political information material, deemed initially as newsworthy, which is, therefore, selected, elaborated on and sent by correspondents to their respective media and head-editors, ends up in the trash-bin rather than before the eyes and the ears of European citizens.

Given the notion that journalists are free and independent professionals and that particularly correspondents are deemed as highly experienced and judicious practitioners, by the mere fact of having obtained such a highly responsible position, we explore the mechanisms which result in:

- [a] Their production being refused and rejected,
- [b] Themselves being professionally frustrated and
- [c] EU citizens becoming uninformed and ignorant about their crucial public affairs.

DUPUIS, Indira

Situation and (Self-)Perception of EU Journalists in Central and Eastern European Mass Media

Since the beginning of the 1990s, a fierce discussion on the European Public Sphere (EPS) has developed. The need for a stronger political affiliation of the European citizen as such is beyond dispute, especially in view of the crisis of public support which started just after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. Nevertheless, the ideas on the specific features how this arena should be like are currently under intense discussion, due to the different underlying ideas of the democratic functions of a public sphere as well as the finality of the political Union. Within these normative frameworks, a variety of studies have already been carried out, mostly using the method of content analysis.¹ Nevertheless, until now empirical findings have been missing from surveys which approach the European public sphere in its nature as an integrating process going beyond the investigation of public attention spans limited to certain issues and/or actors.

The proposed paper is supposed to fill this gap. Using the results from 36 qualitative in-depth interviews with EU-journalists of the main media, which were carried out between June and October 2006 in three of the new member states that joined the EU in 2004 (Czech Republic, Poland and Latvia), interesting findings about the current routines and standards of EU journalism, which are shaping the production process of the EPS were discovered. The focus of research was laid on the accession countries because the recent change from non-member to member states allows a comparison of the corresponding differences in the audiences perception of the EU, the political agenda and within the editorial office. The interviews covered a vast range of issues from the educational background and professional self-perception of EU journalists, their perspective and judgement on the EU issues, their professional view on the national discourse on EU issues and their description of the conditions they work in.

From these findings a picture of the EPS in these countries emerges. Whereas in Western countries like e.g. France and Germany a critical discussion on the core issues accompany the current political process within the EU, in the countries under examination the public discussion and reporting on EU issues just changed from a former discussion of general questions like being in the EU and the countries' future within this political entity to the mere information on pragmatic facts like how to use the EU subsidies or travelling and working abroad.

Gendered Representations in the Press

Chair: Sofie Van Bauwel

NYAWANZA, Mercy

Reporting gendered violence: women's criminality and the British press

Aim

To explore the ways in which the British press reports on violent offences committed by women.

Objectives

To identify the extent to which popular criminological theory is used in journalistic writing.

To explore the use of labels, myths and metaphors by journalists in their reporting of violent crime perpetrated by women and men in order to identify gender-based differences.

To investigate whether tabloid and broadsheet appears differ qualitatively in the style and content of their coverage of violent female crime.

This study intends to explore the extent to which theory and traditional beliefs about women's criminal behaviour have leaked into journalistic imagination and hence into the way they cover acts of violence by women. It will explore how the press gives or denies criminal women agency in its coverage of crime news.

Methodology

The primary data for this project will comprise newspaper items drawn from national British newspapers which cover reports of violent crimes perpetrated by both women and men. The method of data analysis will include both semiotic and textual/discourse analysis: the semiotic analysis will be carried out on the photographs and other visual items which are included in such reports; the textual and discourse analysis will look at both the headlines and the text

ALVARES, Claudia

The Representation of the Feminine in the Portuguese Press: A Content Analysis of the Diário de Notícias and Público Newspapers

This paper integrates the POCI/COM 55780/2004 research project, jointly funded by the EU and the Portuguese Government, examining the discursive representation of the feminine in the Portuguese press on the basis of content analysis. The results presented will focus on the results of the analyses of the *Diário de Notícias* and *Público* daily newspapers during a three-month period ranging from February 1 to April 30, 2006. The typology constructed, giving rise to contextual and textual units that provide the basis for computerised content analysis, will be discussed in light of the division, central to feminist theory, between liberal and radical feminism. Due to the necessity to contextualise

the content analysis undertaken, this paper additionally alludes to a third type of feminist current, that of Catholic feminism, which articulates itself with liberalism in a contradictory fashion: if at times a Catholically-inspired feminism converges, in its aspirations, with those of liberal feminism, it simultaneously distances itself from liberal demands regarding issues of sexuality and maternity.

Divided into three main parts, this paper will begin by discussing the typology delineated by the team to code the text units of the papers; it will then present the most expressive percentages of the content analyses carried out between February and April 2006; lastly, it will focus on the intersections between different codings, relating them to questions that inform the project.

The latter questions consist in hypothesis-related issues we wish to address, namely that the press implicitly constructs a discourse on feminine identity which bears connections to economic, racial and gendered hegemonies, in keeping with Stuart Hall's essay 'The Theoretical Legacy of Cultural Studies', where he draws attention to the three crucial turning points in the consolidation of Cultural Studies as consisting in the decline of orthodox Marxism, the emergence of feminism and that of the racial question.

This paper will argue that despite being often critiqued for placing too much emphasis on the denotative aspects of texts, feminist content analyses are valuable due to exposing structures of power that underlie gender representation in contemporary society. I simultaneously attempt to engage with critical discourse analysis at particular times, so as to point to the ideology subjacent to the text units coded.

BEK, Mine Gencil

Diversity in Turkish Press: Women, Different Sexual Orientations, Children, Disabled and Cultural Groups

Research focused media diversity as content (McQuail, 1998, 1992; van Cuilenburg, 1998) received criticism for diversity being equated with pluralism; for approaching the media from an optimistic perspective and establishing the mythology of our time as the opium of intellectuals (Jacoby, 1999: 33). What is needed is to try to politicise and radicalise these concepts in relation with the issue of power in a more oppositional and radical way (Karppinen, 2007). While focusing on the issue of diversity, this paper aims to address this issue by adopting this theoretical position.

The presentation summarises and discusses both i. the findings of textual analysis of the news and ii. the process of producing ethical guidelines on media diversity in Turkey.

i. News items published in four national newspapers, representing different media groups, were analyzed to

examine how different social groups are represented in these news stories for almost a period of one year. According to the findings of content analysis of 16.060 news in Hürriyet, Sabah, Akşam and Vatan (January-October 2005) are the larger group represented among the social groups of our work is women.

This should not be interpreted in a way that the press has a sensitive, responsible attitude towards women. Women are sexually portrayed more than men. Celebrities are mostly women. Women are represented more with their physical appearance and beauty as celebrities, singers, models, etc. A news that has no relevance to a woman's body (e.g. a health news) is presented with photos exhibiting women's bodies. In the news on professional women, their female identity is highlighted. Women are mostly mentioned with their first names including women politicians. The physical appearance of politicians is highlighted as well as that of models and singers. There are significant issue-based news items on violence in family and honour killings. However, different aspects of sexual discrimination need to be addressed. Instead of personal dramas, there needs to be more coverage on NGOs as well. Opinions of NGOs relevant to the news should be included.

Representation rate of sexual minorities in the news is very low. There are only 121 news in the whole sample (four newspapers) in ten months. When they are represented, most of the time the term 'homosexuality' is used. Unlike women, there are no supportive news about sexual minorities. Sexual identities are mostly depicted in relation to murder, prostitution, etc. A relation is formed between sexual identities and violence as if being gay / lesbian was a reason for violence.

Children in the news are represented as the victim of violence and crime. Accidents and tragedies follow that. The subject with the least coverage is child labour. About news on children with substance abuse, there needs to be investigative reporting on their disadvantaged positions, rather than stories on the problems they are causing. There should be more focus on the origins of and reasons behind the stories. There are some positive examples in terms of selection of subject matter. However, these news are very limited in terms of how they are depicted and the coverage space.

Disabled people are seen mostly with physical disabilities rather than mental disabilities. News about institutions dealing with people with disabilities are very few and very short.

The issues of immigrants and asylum seekers are not visible in the news. Sensitivity about racism against Turks is not seen when it is against other cultural groups. There needs to be a sense of journalism, which does not provoke violence and which promotes tolerance.

ii. The Media and Diversity Guide has been prepared within the scope of the Media and Social Inclusion Project which was launched in 2005 by the British Council in cooperation with BBC WST with the purpose of supporting the media's role in social inclusion and in which the Turkish Association for Journalists (TGC) also took part as a national partner in 2006. In order to prepare the Media and Diversity Guidelines,

a series of principle development meetings were carried out with the participation of leading media professionals (editors, reader representatives, newspapers, television professionals) from the written and visual media organizations of Turkey and relevant NGO representatives and academicians. In the presentation both this process and the guidelines produced as outcome will be discussed.

MARTINS, Carla

The Representation of the Feminine in Portuguese Press: Discursive Analysis of Popular Newspaper Correio da Manhã

After the 70's women progressively became aware of the political and social power of representation. This urged for the study of the articulation between media discourses, the latter consisting in major vehicles of public representations, and the construction of gender social identities. The debate around the methodological flaws of these investigations stimulated the concern with a depth understanding of the latent significances and ideologies beneath mediated discourses and the socio-contextual elements of journalistic work. Making use of theoretical and methodological inputs which interrelate Gender and Media on the one hand and Journalistic Studies on the other, the present paper, integrated in the research project "The Feminine in Portuguese Press: Representation, Negotiation and Action", supported by the Science and Technology Foundation, starts with a basic question: how is the Feminine represented in Portuguese popular press?

Following this question, the paper is structured along three dimensions: 1) the conceptual definition of Feminism; 2) the approach to methodological strategy; 3) the discussion of results deriving from an empirical analysis of the Portuguese popular newspaper *Correio da Manhã*.

The first part of the paper points to conceptual definition of Feminism. We deal, within this project, with Liberal and Radical Feminism concepts. We added Catholic Feminism to our conceptual framework, due to the important intervention of feminine catholic movements in Portugal during the twentieth century.

In terms of methodological strategy, we combined content and discourse analysis techniques and defined a typology of variables and categories grounded on a conceptual framework. Such combination of formerly considered antagonistic techniques was made possible by the use of Nudist software.

Finally, after the application of our methodology and typology of variables to the leading Portuguese newspaper *Correio da Manhã* from February 1-7 2006 and March 8-14, this paper proposes to present and discuss the results obtained. One of the most striking result of the empirical investigation points out the determinant role played by the category of the mother in journalistic discourse, which we can understand in several approaches, all of them connected with a social and moral judgment of the "good" and the "bad" mother. Perceiving this underlying framework opens an interesting path to understand media reflection of one of the most traditional social role of women, notwithstanding the tensional overall construction of feminine portraits which crosses the popular

newspaper. Other salient symbolic representation of women can be framed within the category of celebrities, which is a privileged subject in *Correio da Manhã*. We can easily associate this option with the editorial characteristics of a popular newspaper but once the news selection gives more prominence to women celebrities than man we propose to deconstruct the attribute associations underlying this framing of female celebrities.

Political Communication versus Political PR: Trends in Current Communication Strategies

Chair: Sophia Kaitatzi-Whitlock

NIEMINEN, Hannu

Toward a Democratic Regulatory Framework for European Media & Communication

In the last twenty years time the media and communication landscape in Europe has transformed dramatically. As a result of digitalisation and computerisation of information, the areas of media production and consumption which traditionally had followed different economic and regulatory paths started to converge. The traditional commercial logic of the print media was contrasted to other functional logics, such as the universal service principle of telephony and the public service principle of broadcasting. The result has been a long period of regulatory adjustment as different logics have clashed both in national and European wide regulatory regimes. As a winner appears now emerging the commercial logic, promoting a neo-liberal regulatory framework.

At the same time the ambitious project of European integration, started after II WW, appears to have run out of steam. Even the European Union itself speaks of its legitimacy crisis in its documents. One of the remedies that has been proposed is the improvement of European media and communication policies and the development of the European public sphere. It is hoped that increasing public inlets and ways for citizens to participate in public debate in European issues would promote more support to the EU and European integration process.

The basic argument in this paper is that the commercial logic followed in the European media and communication regulatory policies is in contradiction with the aim to open up and strengthen the European public sphere. It is my view that the basis of the EU media and communication policies should be re-defined, and for this purpose I will propose an approach to European media and communication regulation which bases on the concept of citizens' communication rights. It is normative in character and bases on the belief that ideas of deliberative democracy are not only theoretical but they can also be applied in more policy oriented ways.

MOORE, Simon

Towards a Total Communication Environment: Integrating emotion, Identity & Communication Rights in EU Strategy

The EU's public identity hinges on the ownership of emotion. "Feeling" drives and shapes public perception of the facts that underpin EU identity. This paper proposes a new approach to EU communication that simultaneously addresses nationalist passions and the democratic deficit.

Unless its supporters are engaged in elections or referenda, the EU traditionally counters passion with reason and resources. It communicates to specific audiences on specific issues by generating facts, policies, information, statements, clarifications, subsidies and grants but there is no consistent strategy, coordinated across all EU activities, that is directly aimed at emotional ownership - at engaging the feeling of EU citizens as a whole.

The paper argues that obstacles to emotional engagement include a historically validated sense of national belonging, continuous exposure to nation-based issues and, in direct opposition to these sentiments, the representation of the EU as a rational bureaucratic machine with no emotional investment in its citizens lives.

It is proposed that the EU must urgently broaden its relations with traditional media and harness new media to establish a direct emotion-grounded connection with EU citizens.

To achieve this, the paper explores options suggested by the corporate experience of issues and crisis communication and the information revolution. These include:

An emotion-centered strategy to shape EU public identity. This program, it will be shown, cannot be run as a political campaign but a continuous form of engagement with EU citizens on non-political social and local issues via news, educational and cultural media and information technology.

A strategy for Information Age engagement. The EU must be perceived as the liberator of public opinion and the free exchange of views, not as a reactive, non-elected, monolithic, unimaginative, bureaucratic producer of compulsory political directives. Platforms must be built to attract large-scale public participation, not merely to formulate specific policy, but to emotionally invest in the entire EU project. Multiple media must be creatively exploited and resources offered to help marginalized groups participate and perceive the EU as the organization that gives them a voice.

The paper argues that taking "emotional ownership" requires less engagement with political or professional media. At present other media, the media most valuable for emotional contact, are being overlooked. How can the EU connect with citizens on this non-political terrain?

Relevant cases exploring these and related topics are drawn from the corporate and nonprofit sectors.

Nationalistic passion, it is contended here, cannot be contained by non-emotive facts and information; the more transparent and greater the volume of EU-supplied minutia, the bigger the "emotional deficit." This paper argues instead

for “emotional transparency.” As debate over the EU’s future intensifies, emotion must not be dismissed but actively harnessed by the EU, as it is by critics.

To reach this goal a far-reaching “Total Communication” strategy is proposed, integrating emotion to project a long-term, general and personal picture of the EU’s purpose. The proposed EU strategy engages more creatively with all media, uses new technology to identify and connect with excluded or marginalized groups, and in doing so helps redress the democratic deficit.

SAMARAS, Athanassios

Europeanization of the Representation of Operational Programmes in an Ethnocentric Political communication system

Successful European integration necessitates adequate process of communication as well as the emergence of a public sphere that will allow citizens to get involved in public discussions about European politics. The deficit of democratic legitimation of the EU is to a large extent related to the communication deficit (Meyer 1999). The communication deficit incorporates both the representation of the EU in the news and the employment of EU in candidate controlled communication.

Previous research on the representation of EU during EP campaigns in Greece identifies the existence of a communication deficit. Quantitative analysis of political advertising (Samaras 2003) indicates that the reference to the EU is minimal and largely symbolic while the focus is predominantly on internal politics. Televised spots for European Elections have been utilized in Greece as either an image making exercise or in order to increase the effectiveness of the message in the forthcoming national elections. Analysis of the party leaders debate of 2004 EP elections confirmed the finding that EU is not employed very often, and when it does it is in an abstract and symbolic manner that in effect masquerades the actual policy issues and the connection between everyday life and the operation of the EU. Rhetorically the EU is treated as an image making instrument rather than as the central issue of the political debate (Samaras 2006). Quantitative content analysis of newspaper (Kostarella et al 2005) and television news (Demertzis 2006) also identify a communication deficit.

The existence of an EU communication deficit in both candidate campaign communication and in news in the 2004 elections in Greece is due to the ethnocentric perspective of the political communication system. Both the party system and the media system are operating at the state level and are thus fuelling the ethnocentric perspective thus impairing the Europeanization process.

The question is to what extent the Europeanization of the policy making can affect the Europeanization of the representations during non campaign periods and thus decrease EU communication deficit? I.e. to what extent ethnocentric narratives and perspectives dominate the representation of EU policy initiatives thus resulting to their domestication? The focal point of this research is the Ministry of Development Operational Programme “Competitiveness”

which comes under the 3rd Community Support Framework 2000-2006. It incorporates a package of actions and subsidies designed to improve the competitiveness of the Greek economy and to promote the country’s social and economic convergence with the other member States of the European Union.

All related articles published in Greek newspapers for a three month period are content analysed. The project addressed the following questions: (1) To what extent the news items referring to the Operational Programme “Competitiveness” are Europeanized in terms of references, of sources quoted, and of evaluations? (2) What is the image of EU projected? (3) What is the impact of the promotional and communication effort related with the Operational Programme “Competitiveness”?

The overall issue of concern is to what extent the EU policy initiatives combined with strategic public relations at a national level increase Europeanization of the representations thus decreasing the communication deficit. The Europeanization of Operational Programmes like “Competitiveness” is instrumental in bridging the gap between the EU institutional framework and the citizens’ perceptions.

Media Pluralism and Democracy

Chair: Claudia Padovani

Respondent: Julia Hoffmann

NESTI, Giorgia

Policy networks and mobilization networks in the European Union: the case of media pluralism

European governance processes are often labeled as ambiguous. The EU institutional context is marked by high complexity, due to the technical nature of the issues at stake; but it is also characterized by weakness, due to its political structure, where political parties and representative institutions are underestimated. Thus, in order to cope with complex issues and to gain consent and legitimacy, European institutions try to engage the civil society – i.e. interest groups – into the policy-making by means of policy networks. What emerges is a polycentric system of governance where non-governmental actors, mainly from the business sector, take relevant technical and political decisions and exert influence on policy regulation.

On the other side, other actors and groups from civil society mobilize themselves in order to raise their voice about relevant issues at the European level and to capture institutions' attention. When it happens, mobilization networks gain the opportunity to participate to the policy process, encountering policy networks.

This is the case, for instance, of European policy on media pluralism where mobilization networks have been emerging beside "traditional" policy networks trying to exert their influence at the institutional level.

Taking European policy for media pluralism as a case-study, the paper is aimed at: a) mapping policy networks and mobilization networks currently emerging in the context of European media regulation; b) assessing whether and how those networks interact each other within the policy-making; c) exploring political implications for the development of a democratic European polity.

KLIMKIEWICZ, Beata

Media Pluralism and Enlargement: Limits and Potential for Media Policy Change

Media pluralism is one of those normative concepts in European media policy that generates a broad respect for its undisputed value and importance for the democracy process as well as cultural identity formation at the European level. At the same time, the complexity of media pluralism leaves ample scope for interpretations and constitutes a fertile ground for a variety of ways how the concept itself is being used in formulation of policy objectives and rationales, as well as in policy implementation.

Undoubtedly, media freedom and pluralism has been perceived as a basic condition for successful transformation of media systems and consolidation of democracy in Central European countries during the EU's eastward enlargement. A specific historical resonance of these issues in Central Europe can be best illustrated by the long experience of censorship, propaganda and state control over the media during the communist era. The EU enlargement provided a framework of governance in which a process of democratic consolidation at the national level has simultaneously adjusted to supranational integration.

In the post-accession period, the issue of media pluralism, still raises a question of different regional and national perspectives. The Final Report summarising the debate of the Group on Media Pluralism at the Liverpool Audiovisual Conference devoted to revision of TVWF Directive, observed: 'New member states tended to have different notions of what pluralism means than the older members of the Union. There is a danger of applying double standards when dealing with media pluralism issues.' (Working Group 5 2005, 1).

The aim of the paper is to examine how the concept of media pluralism has been used, operationalised and exposed during the accession process in European media policy. Three dimensions will be observed in this respect: vocabulary used – in particular standards promoted within a policy of conditionality, a way of reasoning and development of a monitoring process itself (especially Commission's Regular Reports). The inclusion of post-enlargement period provides a possibility to analyse EU rule transfer and transposition of EU standards in CE institutional structures and political practices in the context of current policy change concerning media pluralism at the European level.

The paper focuses on the fifth 2004 eastward enlargement and includes examples of following CE countries: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. In addition to a conceptual dimension, these cases help us to understand media pluralism in a rapidly changing media environment affected by intense and rudimentary media reforms, many of which caused unexpected problems. The paper argues that problematisation of media pluralism during the EU accession lacked distinct visibility and clear message, thus resulting in the ambiguity of language and ambivalence of policy-making process. Paradoxically, the tension between different approaches to media pluralism and its role in consolidation of democracy, has stimulated also a possibility of change in the post-accession period.

GARCIA BLANCO, Iñaki

Fostering Conflict or Consensus? Normative Conceptions of Democracy in the Spanish Press

Democratic politics and political pluralism necessarily entail controversy, diversity of positions in relation to issues, and a certain degree of tension between political actors –either institutional or non-institutional. In fact, and in spite of their idealisation of consensus, most normative conceptions of democracy stress the positive values of debate and political diversity, to the extent that there are institutionalised counterparts that should ideally balance the actions of political powers (the opposition, the shadow government, the media, and, of course, civil society). More radical conceptions of democracy consider that no democratic ruling of society is possible without a vibrant clash of political positions and explicit conflict of wills.

The political confrontation that the 2004 General Election generated in Spanish society is one of the main features of the current term, and has been strategically managed by political parties –and their media proxies– so as to guarantee political allegiance. Several demonstrations against governmental policies have been organised by the Popular Party since March 2004, controversial positions have been adopted, and even a media boycott to a Media holding close to the party in Government has been launched.

However, instead of having fostered a revitalisation of civil society actions or political debate, think tanks (see, for example: Fundación Alternativas (2007) report on Spanish democracy, published under the title “the strategy of wrangling”), political analysts and commentators, and foreign media (such as *The New York Times*, or *The Economist*) consider that this politically managed confrontation may lead Spanish society to a clash. Accusations of political disloyalty or irresponsiveness, or considerations of how political parties ‘have lost their way’ are nowadays common in the media.

This paper will analyse how the main Spanish newspapers have portrayed this political divide or social confrontation since March 2004 until June 2007. By analysing how political op-eds and feature articles are framed, it will offer insight about the normative, taken for granted conceptions of how democratic politics should be and how political party leaders should behave.

Insiders and Outsiders: a Common Understanding for Citizens

Chair: John O'Sullivan

BERGLEZ, Peter

For A Transnational Mode of Journalistic Writing

The central problem of current political and public journalism is that they still tend to construct reality from the ideological horizon of the nation state. Reality is still very much constructed in accordance with the rationale of the internal (the nation state) versus the external (the world outside the nation state), and as 'relations between nation states' (international reporting). The aim should, however, be to communicate about the world in accordance with a more radical transnational mode, a journalistic mode that increasingly internalises the way social reality works under post-national conditions and decisively includes the existence of the EU, as well as the effects of whole global economy, within miscellaneous everyday journalistic writing. By means of relevant theories and research, the current paper tries to define the central constituents of transnational journalism, how it differs from traditional nation state oriented journalism, and how it plays an important role for a sustainable development of democracy and citizenship.

UGILLE, Pieter & PAULUSSEN, Steve

Enhancing citizen participation in the newsroom. Preliminary results from the "Collaborative Community Media" project

In today's rapidly changing media environment and in the context of Web 2.0, traditional media are increasingly exploring the opportunities of user-generated content and citizen journalism. Although most of these efforts seem to be heavily inspired by market-driven rather than civic-oriented considerations, recent literature suggests that new emerging participatory forms of journalism may help mainstream media to reconnect with the public.

This paper presents preliminary results of an empirical study on how professional newsrooms can deal with user participation in the news production process. The study is conducted in the framework of an interdisciplinary research project called 'Collaborative Community Media' (CoCoMedia). The project is carried out by technological and social researchers in cooperation with the Belgian regional newspaper company Concentra and aims the development of an editorial tool for collaboration between amateur and professional journalists. This tool is aimed to help the professional newsroom organize and manage all kinds of citizen input received during the news day via e-mail, letters-to-the-editor, forum posts or SMS messages. In addition, the tool will aggregate user-generated content from relevant citizen media (local community sites, weblogs, city blogs, etc.), so that professional journalists can use it as a kind of 'monitor' of what is going on in the community.

Literature shows that successful implementation of a new technology within the newsroom depends on a number of organizational and professional factors. One of the research objectives is to determine what changes are needed at the editorial level so that the available possibilities will be used effectively. The focus in the 'new newsroom' will evolve to moderation, conversation and collaboration. This requires a new editorial structure and other professional competences. In our research we investigated to what extent the newsrooms are prepared for this new role. How do newsrooms today deal with user-generated content? How is user-generated content already used for the own news coverage? What experience does the newsroom have regarding moderation and online media? Which criterions do journalists use to determine the reliability and relevance of information? How do these traditional norms match the standards of web 2.0?

We conducted a qualitative study to obtain an answer on these topics. Through an internship and in-depth interviews at three Concentra newsrooms, we investigated organisational factors that have to be taken into account in the further development of this citizen journalism project. The observations took place at 'Het Belang van Limburg', 'Gazet van Antwerpen' (two regional newspapers) and 'Metro' (the only free newspaper in Belgium). Both the print and online editorial offices were included in our study. We examined to what extent newsrooms are willing and prepared to exploit the editorial possibilities of collaborative community media. The discussion took place with three groups: the editorial management, the professional journalists and the non-professional citizen journalists.

PERCEVAL, José María; SIMELIO, Núria & TEJEDOR, Santiago

Representation of the citizenship concept in the so-called new citizen journalism: advantages and dangers for the democratic system

This article clarifies the concepts of public, popular opinion and citizen in order to analyze the advantages and dangers of the new citizen journalism. The construction of the Public Sphere in the eighteenth century caused the rise of Public Opinion concept. In the modernity this concept leads back to the ideological position of liberalism, where Public Opinion is the same as what people thought. In this framework, Habermas stated that Public Opinion is the result of the rational debate between citizens.

The rise of the civil society as an element opposite to the political institutions provoked and altogether different conception of the Public Sphere. In this framework, special interests groups played a decisive role in the debates and

decision making towards and in favor of different and particular issues. People participate in public in different capacities and to different degrees. So, the public only existed as regard to specific issues and not reflect the whole population. Also, these interests groups should not substitute the political action in the democratic system.

In this article we examine this contradiction by empirically analyzing in a comparative way three definitions and case studies of new citizen journalism: “participatory journalism”, “journalism that is for the people” and “journalism that is by the people”.

Dimitra DIMITRAKOPOULOU

Journalists in the digital era: caught in the Web?”

The present paper deals with the challenges that journalism is faced with due to the evolution of interactive platforms of information and communication such as weblogs and public/citizen journalism. The development of new interactive technologies questions the need for the intermediary role of journalism and poses new challenges for its future necessity.

Our research questions fall well within the broader scientific discussion regarding the future of journalism in the digital era: can journalism still be of value or is it made redundant? And also: what challenges do journalists face in the digital era as far as their role, professional values and ethics, working practices and pressure are concerned? Do weblogs and citizen journalism constitute a threat for professional journalism? How are weblogs developed in contrast to professional journalism? What type of synergies – if any- can be formed between professional and citizen journalists?

Apart from the theoretical insight into the topic, our research question is backed by primary research conducted among Greek journalists. The current empirical study reveals the attitudes and beliefs of Greek professional journalists as far as their future role and profession are concerned.

Discourses on Gender and Otherness

Chair: Claudia Alvares

KRIJNEN, Tonny

Imagining Moral Citizenship: Gendered politics in television discourses

Over the last few years the body of work on citizenship and popular culture has steadily grown. Popular culture is commonly regarded as an important discursive arena in which citizenship is formulated and constructed ((Hermes 1998; Van Zoonen 2004). In this paper I examine one - less often researched - axis of citizenship: moral citizenship. Furthermore, I will focus specifically on the gendered politics that become visible in the moral discourses in prime time television.

Popular culture and in specific television is considered as an important narrative resource to explore, articulate and construct moral identity and citizenship. Morality, in this study, is approached as containing both what is traditionally considered as morality and as ethics (Poole 1991; Rachels 2003). Meaning that to understand how one ought to behave (i.e. morality), should be part of the good life (i.e. ethics). These two concepts – narrative resource and morality – are connected with each other in the theoretical framework. The relation between the concepts shows how representation of moral subjects in prime time television are of importance for a sense of moral citizenship.

Based on an analysis of two weeks of prime time television in The Netherlands, I will first discuss the moral discourses in prime time television on civil conduct, politics, violence and the family. These discourses show more or less strict regimes on what is to be recognized as civil conduct, politics, violence and the family. Secondly, I will unravel how moral subject positions are created and constructed by these discourses in television. Attention is paid to who is and who is not allowed to enter the discourses, and which strategies are operating to maintain (traditional) gender patterns (Foucault 1970). I will show that although the moral subject positions in prime time television do not seem gender specific, moral citizenship is. Despite the fact that the sheer quantity of these subject positions in prime time television is almost equal for men and women, I will show that the politics around gender in terms of moral citizenship are not. I will argue that gender is still one of the most important dimensions along which morality and citizenship are organized. Looking at the amalgamation of morality and citizenship reveals that though percentages suggest equality, moral discourses more often imagine a re-articulation of traditional gender positions than an emancipatory representation of moral subjects.

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JORGE, Ana

Analysis of the Representation of the Feminine in the Portuguese Popular Newspaper 24horas

What can popular journalism mean for the representation of women in the public sphere and in what ways can it contribute to or prevent equality of opportunities and full citizenship? The analysis of three separate weeks of a daily popular Portuguese newspaper, *24horas*, whose main themes are celebrities and crime, revealed that, although women are profusely visible on the pages of the newspaper, their public activities are anchored down to their traditional roles as carers of the family.

The narrative language of *24horas*, centered on personalization and sensationalism as well as on a certain dramatization (Grisprud), and a popular use of language (Fowler) (colloquial style, idiomatic expressions, nomination through first and short names) create from the outset a pseudo-intimacy with women that ultimately undermines their representation as public agents. The simplistic construction of the articles, with only one topic/ story, further contributes to a fragmented and particularized representation that does not question the causes or the general condition of women.

Although women are represented in themes related with their autonomy and equality, a clear emphasis was given to their love relationships, while sex was a very discrete theme. At the same time that their careers and public activities are mentioned, they are anchored to the private domains of their lives, such as motherhood and family, but mostly relationships. The newspaper is very conservative, suspending objectivity to sanction the frames of motherhood outside marriage and women who do not accede to maternal instinct. The framing of women is even made through several stereotypes, connecting women to consumption of jewels, body care, gossip, rivalry or sisterhoods... Furthermore, matters of parity and equality are generally absent of the paper, as well as the compatibility between work/public participation and family. The 'feminine' tends to be constructed as a synonym for an irrational and emotive being, concerned over the body on health and beauty levels.

This newspaper also constructs a biased representation of famous and common women: the access of the former through mise-en-scènes generates a picture of success and

consumption, while the latter are mostly represented in the crime section, whether as victims or perpetrators.

Traditionally, women are thought to be interested in soft news and a certain tabloidization of media was considered to be a commercial appeal for women, a feminization. As we've seen, if such a representation of feminine matters can signify the entrance of private and emotional matters in a masculine, abstract and rational Habermasian public sphere (Lumby) and therefore a certain degree of democratization – even on the news production level (Van Zoonen) –, it can also mean not only the stressing of the connection of feminine to the private matters, but also the distraction of the audience from the real questions of the collective contemporary life (Grisprud).

TEJEDOR, Santiago & PINTO, Ana Sofia

The presence of the immigrant and the woman in Internet

Internet it's a place where all dominant and marginal ideologies, and all cultures and nationalities can live together. We may think that in internet relations are more free, and just because we can keep our identity in secret and get an absolute anonymity, maybe doesn't make sense talking about gender and ethnographic inequalities.

But, as we know, the famous Marshall Mc. Luhan's concept of "global world" isn't synonymous of equality and justice. It means that cultural and ethnographic differences still exists and internet reflects that plurality of differences. However, internet offers more possibilities to interact and give us a bigger power to decide about what we want to ourselves. Nowadays, internet is not more a simple technical and scientific media, inaccessible to minority communities. It is a mirror of society and reflects the increased presence of women and immigrant people in society.

The main question is to know if exist qualitative equality in the discourses, and non-discrimination in the symbolic representation and informative treatment of this groups. It's necessary to analyse the offer and quality of the contents and it's also important to analyse the possibilities of change and the challenges that internet provides.

LANG, Sabine

Organizing Political Publics: Transnational Women's Advocacy Networks (TWAN) in the European Union

Transnational networks have become powerful actors in response to globalization and transnational policy regimes (Keck/Sikkink 1998; Walby 2002; Brandy/Smith 2005). Recent studies have confirmed the increasing influence of transnational NGO advocacy networks in policy arenas such as the environment (Gunter 2004, Kekk/Sikkink 1998) labor standards (Klein 1999; Brooks 2005), trade (Macdonald 2005; Foster 2005) and social policy (Cullen 2005). Even though they are less publicly visible, transnational women's advocacy networks (TWAN) are among the most active

network formations since the 1980s (Silliman 1999; Moghadam 2000 and 2005; Desai 2005).

Institutions of the European Union have in recent years intensified efforts to publicly highlight their cooperation with NGOs and transnational advocacy networks. In 2000, the Commission published a discussion paper called 'The Commission and non-governmental organizations: building a stronger partnership', that encourages co-operations between the EU executive and the non-governmental sector. Although the Commission report insists that decisionmaking processes in the EU are first and foremost legitimized by its elected representatives, it emphasizes that "NGOs can make a contribution by fostering a more participatory democracy both within the European Union and beyond" as well as forming "European public opinion" (EU Commission 2000).

TWANs thus seem well positioned to contribute to an emerging European public sphere. They can potentially gain visibility and potential influence less via institutional, but instead public advocacy.

This paper cautions such assumptions. My analysis of five major European women's networks exposes three organizational and structural limits of transnational women's advocacy in the EU: (1) narrow issue focus precludes broader policy interventions (2) lack of organizational capacity-building results in overall thin networking structures and in few personnel equipped to focus on issues of general policy, and (3) dependency on EU funding streams leads to careful navigation of controversial issues and a publicly uncritical adaptation of EU strategies and language. As a result, the transnational women's advocacy sector within the EU has not yet built enough capacity to generate European women's publics with viable voices in policy debates in European civil society.

The five TWANs I analyze are:

WECF – Women in Europe for our Common Future, a network of about 50 women's environmental organizations in 25 countries that focuses on gender sensitive environmental policy.

EWL – European Women's Lobby, a network of about 3,000 women's NGOs in EU member states, initiated by EU institutions to foster coordination of women's civic groups on the EU stages.

WAVE – Women Against Violence Europe, a network of about 1,000 women's NGOs across Europe that mobilizes and coordinates activities to strengthen human rights of women and children.

WIDE – Network Women in Development Europe, an alliance of developmental NGOs that monitors economic and developmental policies and practices on the EU level.

KARAT – a regional coalition of women's NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe and CIS states that is women's NGOs prime representative on most EU platforms.

Methods of analysis include webbased presentation, interviews, and network mapping through network analysis software.

Pro-active Communication Policies for a European Integration and Solidification?

Chair: Mine Gencel Bek

Respondent: Paolo Baldi

KOUKOUTSAKI-MONIER, Angeliki

Visions of Europe in French Politics; Debating the EU Constitution in the French Press

European integration was until recently mostly examined in a political and economic angle, raising questions about State structures and national identities. But with the expansion of euro-skepticism revealed by general manifestations of resentment or reticence in regard to Europe, questions about communication mechanisms within the European Union increasingly attract scholars' attention. Most of these studies apprehend communication in terms of efficiency and performance or analyze Europe's representations in the media.

The existence of a European communication "deficit" is often put forward by analysts as one of the main reasons for the expansion of euro-skepticism in EU countries. Indeed, several studies highlight the precarious and difficult character of the European project and the unclear meaning of the signifier "Europe". In France, Eric Dacheux points out and criticizes the "strategic faults" committed by the European instances in terms of communication policies and methods over the last thirty years. Among them is what he calls "the thoughtless use of the 'ineluctable' rhetoric", which can be briefly explained as follows: since the Treaty of Maastricht and the creation of euro, the European Union, as constructed by European elites, appears as being inevitable instead of being desirable or simply possible. According to the same author, Europe's communication deficit is linked to a more substantial problem, the lack of a "new utopia", in the sense of an ideal prone to rally European populations.

Within this frame of reference, our analysis seeks to test the existence of an 'ineluctable' rhetoric in the political actors' discourse in regard to the European Constitution in France and to examine the arguments employed in favor of or against the Constitutional Treaty as reported in the French press (*Le Monde, Le Figaro, Libération* and *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien*) before the 29th of May 2005 referendum. Our concern is not to assess the truth of the standpoints preached by the "yes" and the "no" advocates, but to detect and analyze the divergent framings and arguments on which both camps based their discursive persuasion strategies, with the ultimate aim to shed light to their respective global visions of the process of the European construction. In a qualitative discourse analysis and with the aid of argumentation theories and political communication approaches, the study will investigate how European Union's Constitution, identity and future were represented and discussed by French political actors through media in their effort to obtain public adherence before the referendum.

HOLUBOWICZ, Maria

L'Expression des Sensibilités pro-Européennes dans la Presse Polonaise à l'Occasion du 50e anniversaire du Traité de Rome

Il y a exactement trois ans, après des années d'attente, la Pologne a fait son entrée dans l'Union européenne. Faire partie de l'Europe politique et non seulement géographique, c'était une réclamation constante de la part des Polonais depuis que la chute de l'Union soviétique et des régimes communistes dans ses pays - satellites a mis fin à la division de facto de l'Europe en deux blocs antagonistes. En effet, ceux qui réclamaient « le retour à l'Europe » mettaient en avant l'appartenance séculaire de la Pologne à la civilisation européenne du fait de sa culture aux racines judéo-chrétiennes, de ses anciennes et multiples relations avec l'Europe occidentale, enfin du fait de sa langue à l'alphabet latin.

Cependant, l'adhésion de la Pologne à l'Union européenne n'a pas fait que des heureux dans ce pays, où la fin du monopole politique du Parti communiste a permis l'accès au forum public des sensibilités les plus diverses, y compris celles favorables à un fort repli identitaire se traduisant surtout par un nationalisme exacerbé et un fondamentalisme religieux. Le très conservateur gouvernement polonais actuel, une émanation relativement fidèle de ce courant identitaire, s'emploie à mettre en œuvre ses idéaux avec une intransigeance qui tient peu compte de toutes les autres sensibilités qui existent dans le pays. Y compris une sensibilité proeuropéenne.

Malgré l'effort du gouvernement des frères Kaczynski d'étendre son contrôle sur l'audiovisuel public, les médias privés, et notamment la presse écrite, offre un forum de débat beaucoup plus pluraliste, qui permet l'expression d'opinions non représentées dans la ligne du gouvernement en place, comme c'est le cas du sentiment pro-européen.

Par conséquent, il serait intéressant de voir où et comment s'articulent ces convictions, qui en est le porte-parole, enfin quelle est leur importance à côté du courant identitaire de repli actuellement détenteur du pouvoir politique en Pologne, l'objectif étant d'évaluer la portée de la (des) voix pro-européenne(s) au sein de l'espace public polonais.

Notre étude consistera en l'analyse des contenus des principaux titres de la presse polonaise dans la période précédant et succédant directement le 50ème anniversaire du Traité de Rome. Mais elle pourra aussi inclure l'analyse des propos des acteurs : responsables des rédactions, des experts, des intellectuels.

ARBOIT, Gerald

Media and the Construction of the European Defence Policy

Mediatization of foreign information, and particularly defence issue, is still a challenge. As there is no European public opinion, media need to nationalize to make it intelligible to there public. When European armies are deployed in Bosnia, in Kosovo, in Africa, in Afghanistan, in Iraq too, people want to know where are there sons, the other armies become images to illustrate international situation. But this nationalization is also the result of communication deficit from European institution in charge of those questions. Nor the Commission, nor the European military staff, nor NATO, at the Brussels level, nor the national Defence ministries talk about the same issue: the Eurocorps on the European Parliament in Strasbourg, every May 9th, for the European fest, is not really mediatized, as the British perspective is strictly different of the French one.

European defence policy becomes on media a question of point de vue. On the long term, its concept evaluated, less by the advent of a European defence policy, with the 1992 Maastricht treaty, than the zone of wars' multiplication on the European border and the gross of a fear and insecure sentiment in the period 1999-2001. We can see to period, before and after Kosovo crisis. Before 1999, debate on European defence policy was on three main questions: European defence identity against NATO on the question of non-duplication, and the necessity of a common arm market. After 1999 only remain the European defence identity and the common arm market.

This evolution is the fruit of Brussels lobbying. It's also the result of media apprehension of European defence skills. The industrial vision is more disconnected with international and military context, easier to nationalize. It becomes a question of national economic growth. In the media, it passed from the international section to the business one. In a sense, it's not really surprising. Economic newspapers, as Financial Times, are more Europeanists than general and mass media... But the industrial aspect is also linked to the advertising system, which represent the major part of financing media... This is particularly important for press. It's also for arm sellers, like EADS to say that they have some important civil activities...

SZABO, Gabriella

Transnational Political PR in Creation? - European Parties & Communication

Theoretical background

The communication recently has been given particular attention by the European Commission and the European Parliament as contributing to the creation of transnational democracy. It is, however, argued that European integration has not (as of yet) produced a single, general European public sphere (Koopmans-Erbe 2003, Schlesinger 1999). Rather what one finds are segmented publics evolving around policy networks constituted by the common interest in certain policy field (Eriksen-Fossum 2000). The European institutions and organisations – especially in the case of European Commission and groups of political parties in European Parliament – need to face up to a set of questions concerning their communication activities; what kind of

publics do they have?, whom do they wish to communicate?, what instruments are needed and used for the communication?. This can lead us to the field of Public Relations, which seems to be a very fruitful approach for conceptualising the recent developments of European public sphere. The aim of the current empirical research project is to investigate the communicative efforts of the political parties organised and function at European Union level.

Research question

The research question is; what kind of communication policy can be derived from the activities, perspectives and attitudes of the Groups of European parties having seats in the European Parliament?

As subjects for the analysis, the Group of European People's Party, Socialist Group in the European Parliament and Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (the biggest and the oldest formations in the European Parliament) are chosen.

Method

To answer the research question James E. Grunig and Todd Hunt's Four models of Public Relations, which describes four classic Public Relations models, will be applied (Grunig-Hunt 1984). Grunig and Hunt identified four theoretical Public Relations paradigm that are summarised below:

Model Name	Model Characteristics
Press agency/publicity model	Uses persuasion and manipulation to influence audience to behave as the organization desires concentrating solely on the media.
Public Information model	Uses press releases and other techniques to distribute organizational information in relatively objective way.
Two-way asymmetrical model	Uses several communication tools to influence audience to behave as the organization desires with sophisticated techniques (forefeed, segmentation and attitude researches).
Two-way symmetrical model	Uses communication to negotiate with publics, resolve conflict, and promote mutual understanding and respect between the organisation and its public(s).

The aim of the proposed research is to investigate which model describes the Groups of parties' communication policy. Particular attention will be paid to the following questions:

What is the organisational background of the communication policy?

What kinds of tools do the Groups use contacting their publics?

What are the main features of the parties' media and news management?

What kind of forefeed or feedback do the Groups apply for evaluating communication activities?

Concerning the data collection I will have, on the one hand, interviews with the responsible persons on the basis of previously prepared questionnaire. On the other hand, continuous monitoring of the Groups of European parties' website will also be carried out.

Citizens and Interest Groups in Europe

Chair: Bart Cammaerts

Respondent: Nico Carpentier

PAUS-HASEBRINK, Ingrid & ORTNER, Christina
Socially Disadvantaged Groups and their Attitudes towards Europe – A conceptual approach

Up to now the scientific discussion on media and Europe has mainly focused on questions related with media coverage. So far little attention has been paid to the way people select and use Europe-related content. Therefore this paper suggests an approach that highlights the relevance of media selection and usage of different social groups for the formation of their attitude towards Europe.

At the moment parts of the population do not feel comfortable with the idea of a Unified Europe. Münch stresses that identification with Europe increases with income, education and professional status and decreases with age. Socially disadvantaged groups rather regard this topic with fears and scepticism (European Commission).

As the agreement of the broader public is regarded as constitutive for the further political success of the European unification, it is important to have a close look at these particular sceptical groups and the way they build their attitudes towards Europe. Media play a central role in this context, because attitudes towards Europe are formed in the context of a specific selection of information. Therefore this paper focuses on how people in precarious living conditions generate their attitudes towards Europe by means of their specific media usage patterns. It sets out to develop a theoretical and methodological perspective which is able to understand the interconnectedness of different media and the concrete patterns in which they are built into people's everyday life.

Both the attitudes towards Europe and the patterns of media use are rooted in every day culture. So the links between these two spheres should be traced back into their common basis which is the construction of meaning within the context of everyday practises. Taking this perspective, we refer to the concept of 'practical meaning' of media communication developed by Ralph Weiß with reference to Habermas and Bourdieu. According to this approach media related action can be understood as a process of transformation and acquisition of the intended meaning of symbolic material against the background of everyday orientations. Individuals select different media offers and make sense of the single messages and their media repertoire as a whole to construct their overall view on Europe.

Finally the question how social groups with low socioeconomic status generate their attitudes towards Europe within their special media use requires the methodological consideration of two levels of media communication. It is necessary to take into account the content and structure of the media most commonly used by

socially disadvantaged groups as well as their specific way to deal with these media offers in an active process of reception and attribution of meaning. In order to meet this challenge we will present an empirical approach – based on the methodological concept of triangulation (Denzin) – which consists of seven empirical modules that refer to different levels of investigation.

OITTINEN, Riitta
Eurosigns, grassroots Designers, and the Politics of Representation in the Capital of Europe

My presentation analyses the individual meanings and the overall impact of European Union -related representations (below, eurosigns) in the city scenery of Brussels. With eurosigns I mean business signs, advertisements, logos, hoardings, window displays, and information campaign material that make use of at least one of the institutional symbols of the European Union as a signifier. A eurosign must contain a modification of the blue flag of European union with its twelve golden stars (the eurostars), the map of Europe with EU member states highlighted, the attribute "eur(o)" or the letter €), or some other visual element (semi)officially endorsed by the EU.

Eurosigns are ubiquitous in Brussels. They range from the official, hegemonic branding of the EU institutions to the quaint charm of hand painted signs of artisans and small entrepreneurs. Both the official and private use of eurosigns tap into the resources of the EU as a superbrand but the unofficial narratives are neither as carefully branded nor as effectively disseminated as official PR-material for the European Union. Still, the mixed group of entrepreneurs selling computers, food, jewellery, and trips to other continents under the word or sign of "euro" or some visual modification of the official EU- flag has truly set its mark on the urban landscape and its mediated space. Examples of grass root design include e.g. Night shop Euro-Bangla, and Euro phone, selling cheap phone calls outside Europe.

I use photographs by myself and a multinational group of volunteer "eurosignspotters" to dissect the concept of Europe, and to raise questions about mediated space, identity politics and supranational image making. The methodology of my study draws on histories "from below", urban studies and the ethnographic tradition. I would call my approach as modern urban archaeology, too, because it characterises the interdisciplinary nature of my attempt to put together a mosaic of urban values. This approach addresses questions about how people fashion their environments to create meanings about who and where they are in the world, and how, in the process, they communicate feelings of belonging and attachment.

In multilingual Europe, visual discourse may function as a cross-culturally strategic form of communication, thanks in part to its perceptual and iconic availability. From this perspective the phenomenon of private eurosymbols try - in their own way – to bridge the gap between the EU institutions and the civil society.

SCHAEFERS, Stefan

The European Citizens Consultations: An innovative approach of citizens' participation at EU level

When 81 year old Mary from Dublin and 43 year old Silvi from Tallinn raise their voices in the European Parliament on May 9th, 2007, they take a moment to find the button activating their microphone. With an expectant plenary full of policy-makers, journalists and stakeholders in front of them, they confidently read out visions for the future of the European Union that had been developed by them and 1800 other citizens from all over Europe over several months.

In October 2006, two hundred randomly selected citizens from all EU-Member States were invited to present their opinions on the influence Europe has had on their lives, and what direction they would like to see Europe take in the future. Over two days, they discussed their experiences within and between the groups. The first stage was to identify shared topics by sharing perspectives and thinking about the future role of Europe. Then, by discussing these topics with each other, three of them were selected as being the most important:

Energy & Environment: The environmental and economic impact of Europe's energy use

Family & Social Welfare: The social and economic conditions for Europe's families

EU's Global Role & Immigration: The EU's role in the world and the management of immigration

During February and March 2007, the three priorities of citizens identified in Brussels were debated at national consultations –following the same process, and using live exchanges of results and videos between five to ten simultaneous events. After 27 consultations in six weeks, a map of European public opinion emerged, new narratives for Europe from all corners of the EU.

What Mary and Silvi present two months later in Brussels is a synthesis of these national visions, created by representatives of all national consultations.

The European Citizens Consultations (ECC) were implemented by the largest ever operating network of independent foundations and civil society organisations in Europe under the lead of the King Baudouin Foundation with operating partners in 27 countries. ECC was co-funding from 21 foundations and received the largest project grant of Margot Wallström's Plan D.

ECC goes beyond the usual suspects by involving 1,800 randomly selected citizens representing the diversity of the population. The consultations create an inclusive and barrier-free debate with broad resonance in the media and on all political levels from the local to the European. Moreover, ECC

fills a gap in information available to policy makers, as it is different from opinion polls or expert recommendations. Rather than recording a static snapshot of individual opinions, the consultations bring participants to explore opinions, weigh trade-offs, shift their opinions and ultimately find common ground.

The ECC process proves that large scale deliberation is not in competition to representative EU institutions but provides a unique input for policy makers

HINRICHSEN, Malte Carlos & OBRADOVIC, Daniel

Intransparency Directive? – Interest groups and the European Commission

Originally, only the European Parliament had rules regulating lobbying¹. For a period of time the Commission slowly moved towards the adoption of rules for regulating lobbying directed to its members. The first step, was in 1992 the establishment of voluntary rules for lobbyists which did not apply the disclosure of interests². Then, there was a little stricter approach which introduced the need for the registration for the causes persuaded by lobbyists³. Finally, the European Transparency Initiative requires lobbyist to register their interest prior to approaching the Commission.⁴⁵ At present the registration is voluntarily, but positions of lobbyists failing to declare their interests will not be taken into consideration by the Commission. In future, the Commission might introduce the compulsory registration for lobbyists.

The subject of this paper is to assess the evolution of the rules for regulating lobbying directed towards the Commission and in particular to assess the newly adopted code of conduct for lobbyists. This piece assess also the opinion of lobbyists on the issue. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in Brussels in June 2005 and April 2007 with interest groups affected by the new approach of the Commission towards the lobbying activity. In 2005, two Members of each the EP, Commission, and Council, three journalists and different special interest agents concerned with the REACH-directive (PLEON, Daimler-Chrysler, BASF, BEUC) were interviewed concerning the proposed code of conduct for special interest groups⁶. The interviewees were asked to give statements concerning the following propositions 1) a mandatory system of electronic registration and reporting for all lobbyists with a "significant annual

¹ European Parliament, *Rules of procedure of the European Parliament*, 16th ed. (2005) Art. 3 of Annex IX.

² "An open and structured dialogue between the Commission and special interest groups", SEC(92)2272, 2 Dec. 1992.

³ Commission Communication: "Towards a reinforced culture of consultation and dialogue: General principles and minimum standards for consultation of interested parties by the Commission", COM(2002)704, Dec. 2002.

⁴ "The need for a European transparency initiative" at the European Foundation for Management, Nottingham Business School, Nottingham, Mar. 2005.

⁵ „European Transparency Initiative" SEC(2005) 1300, Nov. 2005.

⁶ Statement by ALTER-EU: "Ending corporate privileges and secrecy around lobbying in the European Union" <http://www.alter-eu.org/statement.html>, May 2005.

lobbying budget" (above par 6000 \$ per semi-annum in the US lobbying disclosure act), 2) the restriction of employment of (former) officials of the Commission and their relatives, a mandatory recordering of formal and informal meetings and logging of correspondence (fully searchable in an online database), and the opening of all forums of dialogue where access is privileged (e.g. Cars21, Transatlantic Business Dialogue).

In March 2007 the Commission gave a summary to the Green Paper consultations launched in 2006, the central element being the invitation to lobbyists to subscribe to a public register and to a common code of conduct⁷. In a follow-up study in April 2007, three members of the Commission and one member of the EP were interviewed in order to provide an insight into the development of the discussions and the outcome of the initial proposal. We will show that the industrial lobbyists, although opposed to the opening of the forums were generally perfectly willing to accept the far fiercer rules as advocated by ALTER-EU. That the representatives of the institutions (Commission, EP, CON) already during the first interviews in 2005 were backpedaling to give concise positions on the Transparency initiative, underlining the importance of special interest groups for the decision making process in Brussels. The journalists interviewed in 2005 also seemed far more skeptical towards the initiative than the (corporate) lobbyists interviewed. This speaks for both the anticipation of the lobbyists of the insufficient outcome of the directive and secondly, for the degree of reluctance of members of the institutions to implement means that would produce transparency in their relations to special interest groups and to restrict access.

⁷ Commission Communication: "Follow-up to the Green Paper 'European Transparency Initiative'" {SEC(2007), http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/kallas/transparency_en.htm

